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Accordingly rape was unknown, the only contrary instance being that of an Indian who had been intoxicated to senselessness in a Neobrazilian house; on the way home he ravished his twelve-year old daughter, but on coming to he had not the slightest recollection of his deed.

DAILY DANCES

The relations of the young people of opposite sex are best illustrated by their joint dances in the plaza, which normally take place three times every day during the ceremonial season. The party includes as participants:

1. The precentor, ikrérekaté. Of this category the Canella have two or three good representatives and a number of mediocre ones. The younger ones who show talent are instructed by the older precentors, at whose side they appear. A worthy precentor requires a good voice, a good memory for the innumerable dance songs, and bodily endurance. His instrument is the dance rattle, ko'tõi, made of the rind, usually painted red, of a *Crescentia cuiete*, mounted on a wooden handle that projects above as an elongated tip, by which the rattle can be planted in the ground (pl. 32, *b*, *c*). At the grip end a rectangular hole in the handle permits the insertion of a plaited wrist loop, which has a long tassel. The precentor is by no means a medicine-man nor has his rattle the slightest religious significance, as Abreu erroneously assumes.[109]

A remarkable description of the rattle wielded by a Põrekamekra precentor is given by Pohl: "This [precentor] carried in his right hand a ¾-yard-long staff along which a blackened coconut shell could be pushed up and down by the movement of the body. Within the shell were maize kernels, which produced a loud noise." I have never seen such an instrument, which recalls the "taran" observed by Snethlage among the Moré of the upper Madeira region. But Pohl does not seem to have closely viewed the object he describes, for it could hardly have been a "coconut shell" and the "maize kernels" were presumably the black pamtij seeds which both the Eastern and Western Timbira exclusively use and specially cultivate for this purpose.

The precentor generally wears a forehead band, a neck band with a tassel for the back of the neck, sashes across the chest, sometimes cotton bracelets—never a loincloth such as Jurandyr Paes Leme paints in representing a Ponto dance.[110]

2. The precentress, mehõkrepúi, has already been referred to (p. 97).

3. The girls from about their seventh year until at least their first pregnancy. Many a woman eagerly participates even subsequently so far as the care of her infant permits. On the other hand, women of the critical age or grandmothers never take part.

4. The males comprise at least the older members of the unofficial boys' class and the two junior official classes, mepantúa.

If the youths are otherwise engaged, the girls will dance by themselves, but this is certainly not the normal thing, contrary to what might be inferred from Snethlage's and Abreu's reports, both of which mention only the dancing girls and the precentor, saying nothing about the participation of young men. Indeed, Snethlage goes so far as to speak of a "women's dance."[111]

[109] Frões Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 180, 182.

[110] Frões Abreu, op. cit., 182. Pohl, Reise, 2:201. "Dieser trug in der Rechten einen drey viertel Ellen langen Stab, an welchem eine schwarz gefärbte Kokosschale durch die Bewegung des Körpers auf und niedergeschoben werden konnte. In der Schale waren Maiskörner, welche ein lautes Geräusche verursachten."

[111] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 180.

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535 883 The signal for the commencement of the dance usually emanates from the precentor, who goes to the plaza with his rattle, which he begins to shake there while singing in an undertone. Upon this signal the girls take up their position in a row and join in the chant, at first likewise in a low tone. Not until the second or third song is intoned do the youths rise from the sites of their age classes and face the girls.

533 The singing is confined to the girls and the precentor. Except for their periodic shouting in chorus the boys and young men dance in silence. So far as I am able to interpret them, the brief texts of the songs, which are repeated four or more times, refer without exception to animals and their mode of life, especially their food. The melodies are simple, but because of the frequency of half tones and deviations from our rhythmic patterns I found it most difficult to grasp and retain them—to the Indians' great and constant regret, the girls often enough vainly laboring with me. Not only the precentor but the girls, too, chant in strangely deep, guttural tones in two or three voices, individuals varying from thirds to fourths according to preference. The effect is ample, serious, solemn, in fast time growing impressively passionate; Neobrazilians disparagingly compare the Timbira chanting to the roar of wild beasts.

535 Women and girls stand in a row without moving from position; there seems to be no fixed cardinal direction for them to face. During the song they merely bend the knee rhythmically (ikontoitói) while their arms, bent at right angles with the palms up, are moved back and forth so that the hands nearly touch (ipatapé). I have attended several hundred dances, but never observed the alternate stamping with their feet described by Abreu, nor the limb contortions and circular movements of the abdominal muscles reported by Snethlage.[200] Pohl also failed to note anything of the sort among the Põrekamekra:

> Their movements consisted only in their more or less curving in of the feet according to the time of the howling: the knees were bent forward, then the right foot was advanced and retracted in unison without abandonment of the dancers' position. At the same time their hands were bent in uniform fashion and these, too, like the feet, were advanced and retracted by all girls at the same time and rhythmically.
>
> (Ihre Bewegungen bestanden blos darin, daß sie die Füße nach dem Takt des Geheules mehr oder minder einkrümmten, so die Knice vorwärts beugten und dann den rechten Fuß gleichmäßig vorsetzten und zurückzogen, alles ohne ihre Stelle zu verlassen. Zu gleicher Zeit beigten sie die Hände gleichförmig gebogen, und auch diese wurden, wie die Füße, im Einklang mit denselben vorgestreckt oder zurückgezogen, welches von allen Mädchen zugleich und taktmäßig geschieht.)

The precentress has her position in the middle of the girls' row. Whenever, as now and then happens, the precentor pauses for a few seconds, it devolves on the precentress to keep up the chant, which must not be interrupted under any circumstances.

The precentor's behavior is not easily defined in words. Approximately it conforms to the following scheme. He dances, usually from left to right, directly in front of the women's line, then returns in a wide arc to the left. But especially when the dancers have attained the proper state of excitement, which among all the Timbira takes a rather long time, this simple scheme almost disappears amid a host of variants. Then the precentor will vigorously chant and rattle at each girl singly, stamp his feet, stoop down before her, leap up with outstretched legs without change of station. A spectator gets the impression that the performer is making superhuman efforts to impart his own enthusiasm to the girl. While thus engaged he holds his instrument very nearly at the level of his girdle and to one side of his

[200] Frões Abreu, 180. Snethlage, Meine Reise, 466; *idem.*, Nordostbras. Ind., 180.

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535 body. Sometimes he skips two or three dancers in the row, then turns back a little toward the left, suddenly turning away from the line in order to dash off in long dancing jumps, nimbly and gracefully forming a semicircle, or it may be even a circle, around the girls. Some performers deliberately kick up the sand with the tips of the feet during this maneuver. The precentor's work is very arduous; he drips with perspiration and, notwithstanding minor intermissions, he is usually quite exhausted at the end of the dance. Sometimes his colleague must take over the last part of the dance. In Ponto there were times when more than fifty girls and women were dancing in a row; then one precentor will not suffice, so two appear simultaneously, one dancing before the right wing, the other before the left, their songs and movements coinciding perfectly.

293 534 As noted by Pohl[188] and myself, the youths start their activity not at the first song, but as a rule only at the second or third. Almost always they hold some weapon while dancing—a club or arrow or, it may be, nothing more than a stick. Some make special staves for the purpose, tipping them with some sort of tassel. The dancer grasps the club by the butt, not by the handle. Almost always one or two of the dancers brings along a trumpet, which is either held in the hand or suspended on the back by a neck cord. It consists of (a) a bamboo tube blown by [531] a lateral hole and often decorated with pretty twilling in two colors; and (b) a long gourd resonator set at an obtuse angle (padavą', *Lagenaria* sp.). (See pl. 27, *a*.) Sometimes a cow horn cemented to the tube serves as a funnel-shaped resonator, in which case the instrument is called hõ'hí. (See pl. 27, *b*.) It is blown in short, rapid blasts, especially before the dance and during intermissions, the fundamental and then the overtone becoming audible.

535 The youths, with legs outstretched, gently swing their knees, leaping and dancing in a body toward the girls as long as the precentor dances in front of the female line. But as soon as he turns away to execute his semicircle, the youths likewise retreat up to some thirty meters, leaping and yelling. In the dances held at daybreak they always utter a prolonged shout in chorus when starting a new stanza.

512 535 623 The first dance takes place between 3 and 4 A.M. The unmarried mepantúa and the wantons who sleep with them in the plaza are naturally not slow about taking their places, while the girls and young women who sleep in their mothers' homes and the women's husbands lag behind. The council had charged my hąpín, Čatú, with the duty of tending to the requisite quorum of participants. Accordingly, as soon as the dance had begun he would go from house to house around the boulevard, rousing the truants and sending them to the plaza. He was particularly eager to have me accompany him on this circuit, hence woke me up before the rest, quite contrary at times to my convenience.

Toward 5 A.M. the chanting always grows extraordinarily wild and passionate. Anyone wishing to get a clear picture of Timbira dances ought to watch them at that time of day. Half an hour later the singing abruptly ceases. The precentor plants his rattle in the ground by its tip, turns about, and goes home, whereupon the dancers of both sexes withdraw and hurry off to bathe in the creek. Their place is then jointly taken by the chiefs and elders, who for the most part have already made their appearance to attend the close of the performance.

The second dance is held a little before sunset, whence its name, pụtkammekré, and consists of only five songs. The number of participants is less than at the other dances. At this time the councilors are assembled for the second deliberation of the day. Certain minor ceremonies are customary on this occasion, such as the tasting of cultivated fruits, the presentation of persons discharged from seclusion, etc.

[188] Pohl, Reise, 2:206.

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The third dance usually commences after 7 P.M. subsequent to the councilors' meeting. It always has the largest attendance, which includes spectators, especially mothers, grandmothers, and aunts who come to watch their girls dance and later escort them home. As a rule the dance lasts until 9 P.M., but sometimes much later. From time to time Čątú, or sometimes one of the councilors, inspires the performers to greater efforts by admonitions, praise, and protracted shouting. At the close of the performance the married folk and the virgins go home, but the unmarried mepantúa and several wantons usually remain in the plaza at the station peculiar to them. A youth who has a mistress crawls under a mat with her that renders the couple invisible. Some one individual may sing on for himself for a while, then there is complete silence in the village until at 3 A.M. the precentor's rattle once more sounds his summons.

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This mode of dancing seems common to all Timbira. I have seen it not only among the Rąmkō'kamekra, but also among the Krīkatí, Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, Krahō', and Apą'nyekra, and the Apinayé manner of dancing is extraordinarily similar.

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In addition, however, there are a number of dances for amusement into which the nocturnal dance for the most part merges, and of these I will deserибe the knee (mekonkrąne mekrére) and the arrow dance.

The former I observed in 1933 about the time of the terminal ceremony of the pepyé, but it was not related to that initiation and might just as well have been performed at any other time. At 4 A.M. I was awakened by Čątú, who with another man was getting the girls together. Finally eighteen of them in the company of a precentor were squatting on their heels in a circle round a fire in the plaza. Singing with regularity, the precentor on his knees slid in a circle around the girls, at last vigorously shaking his rattle at one of them. Thereupon she also glided about on her knees, moved outside the circle, then backward in a circle in front of the precentor, moving her arms as in a dance, until she had returned to her position. This was repeated by each girl. Once the precentor glided to the right and the girl toward the left in a circle. In the meantime eight men marched in a slow dance step clockwise round the seated group and sang the "ilire" song, which refers to popere, the electric eel (*Gymnotus* sp.).

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The arrow dance, a very jolly affair, was performed one evening almost at dusk. The participants were ten girls, a troop of youths, and a precentor. To one side, at the edge of the plaza, were camped the wakōkama in the station proper to their age class. The order of the dances was the customary one. One youth was holding a bow and arrow in his hand, of which the precentor relieved him during the dance, turning them over to a girl. She stepped out of the line, fitted the arrow to her bow while the dancers continued unperturbed, then with stretched bow chased away the quietly watching wakōkama. Next she turned to the dancing youths, pursued them, and at last discharged one of the arrows at a youth, who of course eluded it with agility. Thereupon she returned to her position, while the precentor turned the weapons over to another girl, etc. But when they had once more got into the youth's possession, he suddenly turned toward the girls, menacing them with the stretched bow so that they dispersed with cries of alarm. But presently they reunited, and the play went on. Sometimes the girls shot at the wakōkama without ever hitting anyone, and the young men responded to each shot with a loud "rrr!" Finally they suddenly leapt up and with uplifted clubs chased the girls in all directions. This ended the entertainment.

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The dances hardly involve any erotic stimulation, but as a by-product some of

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535 789 the nocturnal ones are said to promote hunting and farming. Before a hunting trip they sing of one game animal after another, recounting the species to be killed. This is really done to improve one's luck, for a hunting party that has met with failure will improvise such dances in camp in order to obtain better results at the last moment; for lack of girl dancers and singers their place is taken by men. I have not been able to discover any difference between such hunters' dances and those of daily life.

A grasshopper dance, with boys dancing in squatting posture, one behind the other, serves to promote the sweet potato crop.

ENGAGEMENT

584 The proposal emanates either from the prospective groom's kinswomen or the bride's, from the bride herself, or—probably most rarely of all—from the groom. Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, too, there are many mothers and aunts who indulge in the harmless pleasure of providing prospective husbands for their daughters and nieces—sometimes very prematurely. Such arrangements are not of course strictly binding, for no one can be coerced into wedlock. In some cases they may actually result in marriage, but for the most part the young people on coming of age do as they please, irrespective of the negotiations entered into by their kindred while the parties concerned were still in their infancy.

834 584 As children the fiancés pay no attention to each other. On attaining maturity a youth visits his betrothed in her platform bed, which she hurriedly elevates to a level directly below the roof, and shields from the sight of the other inmates by a partition of mats (p. 41). However, nobody casts prying eyes in their direction, for in this regard the Timbira display exemplary discretion and considerateness even if personally interested in the relationship of the young people.

833 584 With the noiseless agility typical of the Indians in such circumstances the lad glides into the house in the dark and up into the platform bed. If its creaking did not betray his presence, hardly any resident would notice it any more than his departure a few hours later for the plaza, where he spends the remainder of the night. Such meetings do not lead to defloration, which no lovers would hazard within a dwelling since it always takes place outside the village. Thus it happens that more than one girl who has received a suitor's visit for hours night after night over a prolonged space of time may break the engagement as a virgin. For this reason no one may claim the otherwise customary indemnity from the visitor, and the girl may enter a formal marriage with another man. Pohl already observed this bundling custom among the Põrekamekra and expressed surprise at the maintenance of virginity.[200] It is true that if a girl repeatedly enters and dissolves engagements, she ultimately loses her reputation, is no longer taken seriously by the marriageable young men, and becomes a wanton.

832 834 In so far as no special relationship contravenes, girls exhibit little reserve in contact with men well known to them; they expose themselves in their presence without a sense of shame and freely romp with them while bathing unless half the village should be watching. Anyone who wishes to remain on good terms must not balk at practical jokes, bites, pinching, and scratching as he plays with them. As a rule they grow tender and affectionate only when tired from such strenuous pleasantries. Pining lovers and gallant knights would probably make little impression on these girls, but appear stupid and ridiculous. This does not exclude such suitor's favors as relieving a girl of her load, but this is done as inconspicuously as possible. Indeed, both sexes dislike public demonstration of their feeling

[200] Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

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home of their deceased best runner who died on a journey a year ago; there they indulge in a brief lament. Then—let anyone imagine they were exhausted by their bit of exercise—they once more take up their logs and run around the boulevard with them, or run an ordinary race by twos, or a relay race. Not until then do they take a bath.

After every major race a solo dance is indicated. Properly it devolves on one of the four čę'kate, but very often some other man who happens to feel like it assumes the rattle girdle and with it their rde. In addition he has for insignia his club and a special dance staff or at least an arrow which he grasps with both hands and holds aloft in horizontal position. Usually he begins in the plaza, then trots on the radial path to a house, in front of which he spends several seconds singing and dancing, whereupon he returns to the plaza by the same path, again dances there, uses the next radial path, and continues thus till he has danced before each and every one of the thirty houses and is then as a rule completely exhausted. However, it often happens that the performer merely dances from house to house along the boulevard without each time returning to the plaza. The accompanying solo songs illustrate the sharp distinction the Rąmkõ'kanekra draw between piano and forte. Snethlage mentions a solo dancer who alternately balanced his dance staff on his finger tips, his nose, or chin.[28] This is certainly not a fixed custom; I have never witnessed it.

Notwithstanding the well-nigh superhuman exertions made I have not observed any detriment to the health of the log bearers; nor does the ensuing bath prove unsalutary. On the other hand, in any race of considerable extent there are many minor foot injuries due to tree stumps and thorns.

And now we come to the feature that remains incomprehensible to the Neobrazilian and leads to his constantly ascribing ulterior motives to this Indian game: The victor and the others who have desperately exerted themselves to the bitter end receive not a word of praise, nor are the losers and outstripped runners subject to the least censure; there are neither triumphant nor disgruntled faces. The sport is an end in itself, not the means to satisfy personal or group vanity. Not a trace of jealousy or animosity is to be detected between the teams. Each participant has done his best because he likes to do so in a log race. Who turns out to be the victor or loser makes as little difference as who has eaten most at a banquet. Only the lazybones who plays truant when a race is on becomes the target of blame and mockery. The term čukaká (p. 119) is considered very derogatory, especially when applied by a woman to a man.

The major log races held at the close of the annual festivals, above all at pepyé, invariably arouse the interest of the entire village. The ordinary ones create much less excitement. When men in a group return from some big hunting trip or other labor, they generally enter the village by way of a log race. If the participants are few in number, they simply chop off two tree limbs corresponding to their strength. Though such races proceed quietly and unobtrusively, the entrance into the village nevertheless always lures a number of interested spectators to the doors of their houses.

At one of the great races it is difficult to supervise individual achievements. To be sure, a competent class-leader will try to regulate the procedure, but it may well happen that a good runner overexerts himself at the very start or at a particularly unfavorable stage of the course so as to fall far behind, while an inferior racer manages to save his strength for the finish. With the general enthusiasm and agitation, artificially heightened by the noise, there is little scope for cold, calculating

[28] Snethlage, Nordostbras., 179.

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water, which led obliquely upward. It was the cave of the taitetú pigs. By this the hunter returned to the upper world, where he introduced the krowahõ′ costumes among his fellow tribesmen.

I probably misunderstood the final part of the myth when I heard it. Originally I assumed that the piranhas themselves had danced in masquerade, which was puzzling since this would still leave the origin of the masks unaccounted for. At present I conjecture that at the festival of the piranhas the hunter is supposed to see the kõkrị′t monsters themselves, whom he imitated in the upper world by using the krowahõ′ masquerade.

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Costumes.—(See pls. 37–39.) A stick, 1 m. long, resting transversely on the crown of the wearer's head, and two somewhat shorter mats, plaited of split young burity leaves, which hang from this horizontal support, constitute a costume. The front mat is about ½-m. in width, the posterior one somewhat wider. Both are hexagonal, but with three of the sides so short that from a distance the effect is that of an isosceles right-angled triangle, the horizontal bar forming the hypotenuse. The sides and lower margin of both mats are bordered by a heavy fringe of long burity fibers. From the center of the lower edge of the anterior mat a slit a span in length extends vertically upward. On the inside a pair of plaited cords hangs from the lower end of this opening on either side, and by seizing them with both hands the wearer is able to move the edges of the slit.

To the posterior mat are fastened two horns of pau rõxo wood about 2 m. long which project obliquely upward and outward; they meet at the middle of the lower margin, forming a right angle, and extend beyond the ends of the transverse rod. By a chin strap the wearer ties to his head a pad of burity bast in order to relieve the pressure of the stick. He looks outside through the upper part of the slit. The front mat extends about to the middle of the chest, whence the fiber fringe so completely hides the body that even the masquerader's feet are invisible, at least when he stands at rest. Horizontally a tuft of grass a span in length projects from the middle of the posterior side; it represents a bunch of hair from the head tied together. On the front of the costume the eyes are painted with red and black pigments made of almecega rosin with urucú, and of this rosin with powdered charcoal, respectively. However, one type of mask lacks eyes, substituting a broad horizontal stripe.

The Rąmkõ′kamekra themselves use eight types of kõkrị′thó (fig. 15, *a–i*) and ascribe three additional forms to other Timbira tribes (fig. 15, *j–l*). They call the foreign outfits by the same designations as the indigenous equivalents, only adding the suffix kahą′k (similar to). The kenpéy (headman) and ihõkẽ′n (clown) type are represented each by a single sample during a festival; the mekra tamtũato hók type always occurs doubly (for the girl associates); the remaining five types exist in from two to four specimens. In 1935 the membership of the society had been decreased by the smallpox, so that by way of an exception there was not a single costume of the tephothõ′ type. The alien Timbira forms never figure at a Rąmkõ′-kamekra performance, which normally uses the following:

1. kenpéy (= echo), the leader's mask, lacks eyes, substituting a smooth, black forehead stripe along the lower side of the transverse rod (fig. 15, *a*). The posterior mat is painted with black animal figures, usually two monkeys, on the right and the left sides. Usually members other than the leader also put on kenpéy masks, which, however, are then distinguished by the jagged sawlike lower edge of the forehead stripe (fig. 15, *b*). This variant, also called krãti (big head), likewise bears black monkey figures on the back.

2. tõkaivéu has for each eye three concentric black circles and a central point, the spaces between the circles being dyed red. In addition, this mask has circular ears painted on and bears a moustache of thin bast fibers at both sides of the slit (fig. 15, *c*). On the back there are two vertical rows of short, black double strokes.

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3. espóra (Portuguese espora, spur) lacks, at least nowadays, any aboriginal designation. Its eyes are rowel-shaped, its ears circular (fig. 15, *d*).

4. tephothõ' has horizontally extended hourglasses for eyes and occasionally a forehead stripe (fig. 15, *e*). The name designates an herb having double leaves resembling in shape the eyes of the mask.

5. hąkã (= giboya, boa constrictor) bears two bands meeting at a right angle above the middle of the forehead; the bands have a black background with red diamonds. A narrow black stroke runs parallel to and outside each band (fig. 15, *f*). On each side of the back this costume has a stripe of black rings linked together chain fashion.

6. tõhokpó (= flatly and broadly painted eyes) has black rectangular eyes, the oblongs resting on their narrow sides. Beside each eye there is a vertical stroke, sometimes connected with the rectangle by an intervening space dyed red (fig. 15, *g*). The back usually has on each side two fish, one above the other, but sometimes a kind of cross instead.

7. ihõkẽ'n (= his bad grass) belongs to the kõkrĮ't society's clown. It is of poor material, moreover it is elaborated and patched together with studied negligence. There is no definite decoration, the eyes being painted in any desirable way so as to appear crooked and unsymmetrical. The horns are made of crooked and ill-fashioned sticks; sometimes one or even both may be lacking (fig. 15, *h*).

8. mekra tamtũa to'hõk, the two girl associates' type, has two black double lines forming a right angle in the center above the forehead (fig. 15, *i*).

The three alien types are:

9. kenpéykahą'k. Each eye consists of two red triangles beside each other, the inner being larger than the outer (fig. 15, *j*).

10. tephothõkahą'k. Its eyes are red, vertical, spindle-shaped forms; sometimes there are on each side three spindle-shaped strokes (fig. 15, *k*).

11. tohokpõkahą'k. Has for each eye a minute red triangle standing on its apex (fig. 15, *l*).

The membership always includes several boys having correspondingly smaller masks of the same types.

No other types or variants occur among the Rąmkõ'kamekra. Not only did I personally see no others, but I independently ascertained the facts by asking the kõkrĮ't to make pencil drawings for me of the forms extant. One man, Keča, thereupon drew the eight types shown in figure 15, including the krãtí variant of kenpéy. The three alien types were not recognized as officially acceptable.

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This result requires emphasis because the account by Snethlage, who visited the Rąmkõ'kamekra in 1924 during a Mummers' festival and was the first investigator to describe their costumes, in part sharply deviates from what I have seen and collected.[203] My observations support the following comments.

Concerning his figure 22,[204] the horns are proportionately much longer and their upper ends are not cut off straight but taper to a sharp point. The pendent fringe ought to be much longer to be in proportion and should be open in the middle below the slit.

Snethlage refers to painted eyes of square or spiral form ("auf der quadratisch oder spiralig die Augen aufgemalt waren"). As the sketches and my collections demonstrate, not a single mask has square or spiral eyes, though those of the tõhokpó are rectangular and those of the tõkaivéu are formed of concentric circles. The spiral simply does not occur in Rąmkõ'kamekra decorative art. When I painted a mask with spiral-like eyes for the Indians, they declared that they were unfamiliar with any such specimen.

Snethlage speaks of a transverse slit for the mouth ("der Mund häufig durch einen Querspalt angedeutet"). I have never seen a transverse slit on a mask; and when I asked the Indians to make me a mask with such a one, they evidently regarded this as a joke. Snethlage's figure 22 shows only a vertical slit, and a little

[203] Snethlage, Meine Reise, 465, 466; Nordostbras. Ind., 181, 187.
[204] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 181.

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farther on he remarks, "Die Sprache erschöpfte sich in gewissen Bewegungen des *Nasens*paltes." Why not "*Mund*spaltes" if such a one were present?

He assumes erroneously, and not on the basis of any statement of mine, that the costumes I collected were derived from a later age-class festival ("einem späteren Altersklassenfest"). As a matter of fact, kõkrį't costumes are in no way connected with age classes.

"Andere Masken hatten statt der beiden seitlichen Holzstangen, den sogenannten Hörnern, einen blitzartig gebogenen Draht in der Mitte." The author orally reaffirmed this observation in answer to a query of mine. The Indians themselves told me they were not familiar with any such appendage. I can merely suppose by way of explanation that the clown of the organization, whose mask lacks horns, jocularly substituted the wire.

Snethlage explains the differences between his observations and my own by assuming an actual change in the form of costume during the interval between our respective visits (1924, 1929). This seems highly improbable. In the first place, even if aboriginal conservatism had lightly permitted such alterations, the fact remains that during the period in question there had been no Mummers' festival at which a modification could have been decreed. Secondly, the Mummers vehemently declared that the costumes were always made in the same manner, in consonance with ancient tradition.

The illustration in Snethlage's paper (Nordostbras. Ind.) suggests to me that at least in part the author put his observations in writing when he was no longer able to observe the masquerading directly; in consequence, I assume that he was probably no longer able to recall all the details with precision.

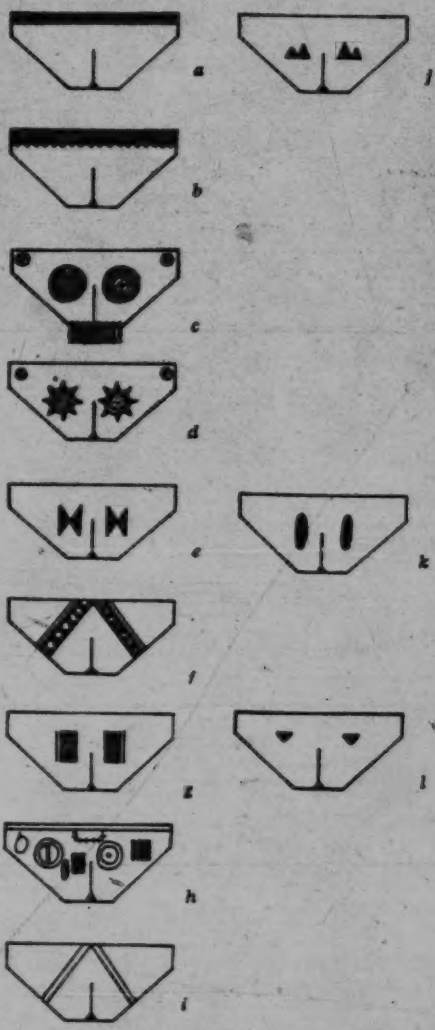

Fig. 15. Decoration of masquerade costumes. a–i, Ramkõ'kamekra: kenpéy, krãti, tõkaivéu, espóra, tephothõ', hąkã, tehokpó, ihõkẽ'n = clown, mekratamtúa tohók. j–l, foreign: kenpey-kahák; tephothõ-kahák, tohokpó-kahák.

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I have seen kõkrį't outfits also among the Pụkóbye, the Krahõ', and the Timbira of Araparytíua.

On entering the Pụkóbye (Gaviões) village of São Feliz (upper Pindaré) in

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

January 1929, I found that the festival was over. I discovered only a single small mask, the rest having been destroyed in order to make the constituent parts fit for other uses. The specimen corresponded to the tõhokpó of the Canella, but the vertical line beside the black rectangles of the eyes was red. In the rear the place of fish figures was taken by glued-on feathers, black in the middle and red toward the sides.

The Krahõ′ whom I visited in their villages on the Manoel Alves Pequeño (1930) told me about their dance costumes and at my request manufactured one, which corresponded to none of the Rąmkõ′kamekra types. The front mask was strikingly narrow, being only about 20 cm. in width. The eyes consisted of large red triangles with a black center; the bases were coterminous with the lower edge of the mat. There were brush-shaped (*pinselförmige*) ears, and the very thin horns extended not over the tips of the transverse bar but rather toward the center.

Most of all did the Araparytíua Timbira masks diverge from the Rąmkõ′kamekra type, though the last samples, which I saw on the upper Gurupy in 1914 in very poor condition, bore an equivalent designation (ku′xid = kõkrį′t). Like the Kayapó and Karayá masks, these were high, more or less cylindrical headdresses with a fringe hanging down from the lower margin. There were traces indicating that feathers had been glued on. On top there were still two thin, almost parallel horns ½-m. in length.

Initial steps.—The society itself, I learned, had taken the initiative in stimulating the performance of 1924. Its leader, no longer living, had summoned the members to their assembly house on the west side of the village and asked whether they were unanimously in favor of the undertaking. On an affirmative reply he announced the decision to the councilors in the plaza, who gave their consent.

In 1935 the younger generation, above all the põhįtíkama headed by Kapẽrtúk, had decided to hold the tepyarkwá, but the elders substituted the kõkrįthõ′ despite Kapẽrtúk's manifest displeasure and his inclination to offer passive resistance, which, however, was of brief duration and not seriously meant.

As soon as the Mummers' festival is definitely decided on, the two societies invariably collaborating with the kõkrį′t also assemble in their respective meeting places: the Agoutis in the maternal house of the eastern vų′tę′; the Jaguars, led by their headman, the Black Jaguar, in the western vų′tę′ house. Thereupon all three societies each choose two girls as mekuiẽwę′i for the festive period (pl. 37, *c*).

Making of costumes.—Now the kõkrį′t erect a shed by a brook near an adequate number of burity palms yielding the raw material, and there they work daily at manufacturing the masks (pls. 37, *a*, *b*; 38, *a*). In 1935 this hut, a rather carelessly built gabled rancho, was two kilometers south of the aldea and upstream. As it hardly rains at this season, no pains were taken to provide adequate covering, a thin layer of palm grass that afforded protection from the sun being deemed sufficient. Mostly the members worked outside in the scant shade of the steppe trees. Nonmembers were not exactly forbidden to approach, but their presence without urgent cause, from sheer curiosity, is held improper. Except for the two girl associates, who customarily attend during the day, women are never to be seen there.

Since this work does not form the members' only occupation it consumes over a month, during which time they do not take part in log races and refrain from painting themselves with urucú for fear of soiling the material. Lacking special reasons to the contrary, the Mummers, before attacking their daily labors, join the Jaguars and Agoutis for the following performance.

Jaguar and Agouti play.—Shortly before sunrise, just after the regular morning dance in the plaza, the three societies depart for a bathing hole on the Santo

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

masks for the last time, join the Jaguars in surrounding the oven of the western vụ'tẹ', while the Agoutis assemble around the eastern vụ'tẹ''s. By the oven the "mothers" of the kõkrị't remove their "sons'" masks, whereupon the Mummers' kinswomen pour water on the wearers. Each "mother" carries the costume home, keeps it there as long as she pleases, and then takes it apart so that the constituents may be otherwise utilized—the mats for seats, the fringe for plaitwork, the horns for bows.

Character of costumes.—The masquerade costumes of this tribe are wholly secular, completely lacking religious or esoteric significance. They are unrelated to initiation, age classes, and exogamous, plaza, or seasonal moieties. The Mummers simply form one men's society, like the Agoutis, Jaguars, Ducks, or Falcons, and follow the same pattern of a leader, two girl associates, and transfer of membership from maternal uncle to sister's son. The costumes are not taboo to anyone and inspire no fear, least of all in the tribeswomen, two of whom themselves wear them. In fact, the masks are especially popular among the female population and closely linked with it through the institution of "mothers." Masquerading is a jollification for the villagers, nothing more.

According to Estevão de Oliveira's investigation in 1935, "mothers" turn up in connection with masks, though in a different way, among the linguistically isolated Makurú, who live in the state of Pernambuco, not far from the Caxioeira Paulo Affonso of the Rio São Francisco. Their masks, however, are of quite distinct type and seem to have religious value.

Pepkahạ'k

Introduction.—This is another of the three intercalary festivals performed in years that lack initiation ceremonials.

Pepkahạ'k means "imitating (-kahạ'k) warriors (pep)," or "similar to warriors." Though the Apinayé phonetic equivalent, Pebkaág, designates the initial phase of their initiation ceremony,[35] the Rạmkõ'kamekra pepkahạ'k is neither immediately connected with the boys' initiation nor a prerequisite to any social function. It almost seems as though the festival results from the desire of the last-initiated age class to enjoy once more the amenities of prolonged seclusion. There is no true origin-myth (cf. p. 179) nor are the natives able to interpret the performance beyond declaring that it serves solely for entertainment.

My account rests on the performance I witnessed from April 18 till June 14, 1931.

The vụ'tẹ' season of the year had been opened on April 14. On April 18, at 5 P.M., the women and girls had pilfered the pole laden with slices of meat and fruits; and there followed the customary dance for that time of day in the plaza, which was immediately followed by the opening of the pepkahạ'k. This rapid succession of events was by no means accidental or due to lack of time, but was designed to prevent the dispersal of the younger men, who were practically all assembled for the vụ'tẹ' opening and had no inkling of the prospective beginning of the festival. Some might have gone away to evade capture and participation, for not all the individuals selected for a part relish this new seclusion.

Personnel.—The personnel embraced:

1. Uninterned: two catchers (hapạ'nkate), who are actual directors, viz., To'põ' of the eastern and Kuikõ' of the western exogamous moiety.

One precentor (ikrérekate); as usual, old Kạ'e.

2. Interned: two leaders (mamkyẽ'ti), one from each moiety, who head their secluded age mates.

[35] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 37.

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[305]

OTSHUKAYANA DANCE SCENE

Nimuendajú E-5- (1939-1950) 1946. 800 Timbira 800

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946. SOS Timbira SOS

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a

b

c

PRECENTOR AND DANCING GIRLS

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41

a b c

GIRL ASSOCIATE; PRECENTOR WITH DANCE RATTLE

(327)

Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1935) 1946 308 Timbira 308

Nimuendajú E-6 (1920-1936) 1948 SOS Timbira SOS

575
535

b *c*

MEASURING COSTUME OWNER; PAINTING OF MASKS; GIRL ASSOCIATES OF MUMMERS' SOCIETY

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

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a

b

MUMMERS' SHED; MUMMERS' DANCE AROUND ASSOCIATES

1; Nimuendajú E-6 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

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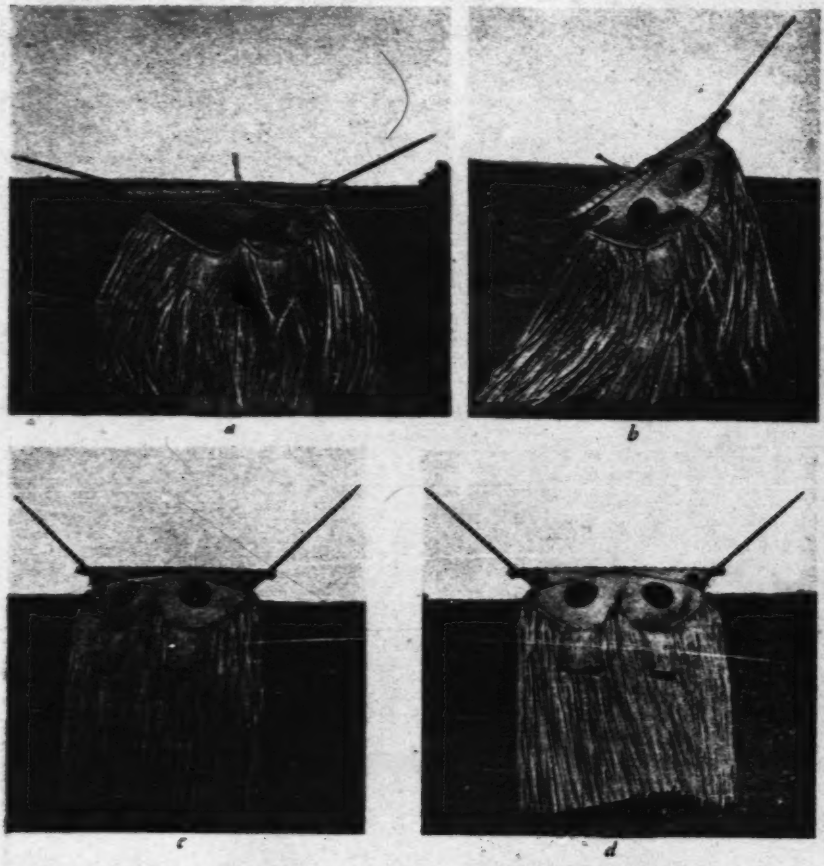
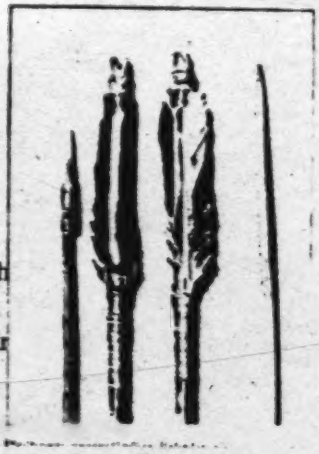


GESTURE LANGUAGE OF TÜKAIVÉU MASQUERADER

/49 cont./

123 521 The solemn silence which had prevailed at first was soon disrupted by [411] lively chatter. The con- [237] versation between me and the chief was interrupted. Every object that I had with me was discussed in detail. I was questioned about their names and use.



Arrow types, opposed feathering. 1/2 nat. size.

From time to time a modest, or usually immodest wish was espressed to possess this or that. Then the conversation faltered again and I gained time to look around a little.

285 My admiration was aroused above all by the extremely well-plaited buriti mats and the different kinds of small baskets and decorated implements with plaiting around them, especially musical instruments and club-like staffs.

123 [142] [535] Unfortunately the pressure of time and an unmistakable mistrust stamped on the faces of my hosts did not permit more detailed notes.

Canella Indians in dance adornment.

126 [343] [252] [593] My wish to obtain photographs met with general understanding to be sure, but encountered such energetic resistance on the part of the wife of the chief, who with a few old women in an adjacent open hut, the kitchen, was devoting herself busily to the making of manioc flour.

/50 cont./

123 take place and I, apparently giving up any idea of trade, gave
126 orders to my servant to saddle the animals.
622
437 Gesticulating excitedly he then spoke persuasively to his dissatisfied people and at the conclusion of his impressive speech gave me the assurance that I would find all the desired objects in Casimba the next morning.

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411
[824]
[535]
[415]
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[824]
[237]

Fig. 1.

The greatest part of the collection, however, was then missing, only sixteen objects from it remaining for me; they are in the possession of the Berlin kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde. These are:

No. 1. Bow with seven arrows. The bow (kuhẽ) is made with little care from black palm wood; two meters long, with a flat inner surface and convex outer surface (Fig. 1, 1). The wood of the bow tapers toward the ends, both in the width of the inner surface and in the height diameter. The arrows (krũa) consist of thin cane sharpened at one end and at the opposite end are provided with opposed feathering.

No. 2 Dance staff of black, hard wood, with a circular cross-section, tapering from the middle toward both ends. The one end bears a pendant of blue arara feathers as decoration. (Fig. 1, 2).

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Bow cross-section.

/51/

415 [824] No. 3. Container (marímba) made out of the fruit shell of a Crescentia species (calabash tree). It is used for storing ornament feathers. (Fig. 1, /see p. 13/, 3.)

534 [824] No. 4. Dance rattle (maraká) It consists essentially of a fruit shell of a Crescentia species, pierced in the long axis by a carved wooden handle and containing some rattle-pebbles. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 5.)

No. 5. Musical instrument (1) (patuwe), a kind of signal horn, consisting of a calabash fruit 54 centimeters long, hollowed out and furnished with openings on both sides, in one of which a taquara /bamboo/ tube with a blowhole on the side in the manner of our transverse flutes has been inserted as a mouthpiece by means of hard wax. (Fig. 2, 9.)

[171] [113]

1. A specimen corresponding precisely to this instrument is in the Ehrenreich Karajá Collection in the Berlin Kgl. Museum für Volkerkunde. Cf. Veröffentlichungen des Kgl. Museums für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," p. 24.

[237] [386] [531] No. 6. Signal horn (hãhí). Into the taquara-tube mouthpiece, which also shows a blowhole on the side, an ox horn is inserted by means of beeswax and cotton lacing which ends in red-dyed fringes about 15 centimeters long. The mouthpiece is artistically enclosed by a black-yellow plaited decoration. (Fig. 2, 2.) /Fig. 2 appears here./

301 824 No. 7. Arm rings rolled out of palm-leaf strips (batsé), to be worn on the upper arm. (Fig. 2, 12.)

386 No. 8. Dye sample (pú), urucú kneaded together with clay. 302 Used for painting the face and body. (Fig. 2, 6.)

535 [237] [114] No. 9. Swinging sticks (klõwa) with vulture-feather decoration at one end. According to the interpretation of the chief, which seems really rather doubtful to me, they are supposed to

/51 cont./

535 mark the dance rhythm at festivals by being beaten together. (Fig. 2, 11.)

534 No. 10. Small decorated musical instrument (gukon-grúte), a kind of signal whistle made from a gourd (Cuyen/ shell, with a blowhole and two tone holes. (Fig. 2, 8.)

No. 11. A similar instrument, decorated with beads and small feathers. (Fig. 2, 4.)

301 No. 12. Neck ornament (hakrõ) made of cotton threads [283] (roretsí); in addition to animal claws, a small gourd whistle [237] (gukon-krête). [534]

301 386 482 534 535

Fig. 2.

(gukon-krúte). (Fig. 2, 3.)

301 304 [824] No. 13. Ear ornament (2) (kũi), consisting of black-red wooden rings, 2.5 centimeters thick, 8 centimeters in diameter, and 26.5 centimeters in circumference, which are worn in the

2. According to Etienne Ignace, made out of the hard wood of the "Pau santo" /Zygophyllaceae/ or "Acupu."